

## Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ACDE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00

USIE-00 AEC-05 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-07 IO-10 L-02 NSAE-00

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SS-15 TRSE-00 RSC-01 NSC-05 BIB-01 /082 W

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FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0823

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

USNMR SHAPE PRIORITY

USCINCEUR PRIORITY

S E C R E T MBFR VIENNA 0030

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJ: MBFR: INFORMAL SESSION WITH EASTERN REPS FEB 4, 1975

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: IN THE FEBRUARY 4 INFORMAL SESSION OF THE VIENNA TALKS, THE ALLIES WERE REPRESENTED BY THE NETHERLANDS REP, UK REP AND US REP, AND THE EAST BY SOVIET REPS SMIRNOVSKY AND SHUSTOV (KHLESTOV HAS NOT YET RETURNED FROM THE SOVIET UNION OWING TO A DEATH IN THE FAMILY), POLISH REP STRULAK, AND GDR REP OESER. THE SESSION WAS STANDARD AND RATHER SUBDUED.

2. ALLIED REPS REVIEWED ADDITIONS AND MODIFICATIONS TO WESTERN PROGRAM IN LAST AND EARLIER ROUNDS, MADE CASE FOR FOCUSING DISCUSSION ON REDUCTIONS AND PRESENTED ALLIED RESPONSE TO EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL. ONCE AGAIN

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REACTING SENSITIVELY TO ALLIED REMARKS THAT EAST APPEARED

MORE INTERESTED IN FORCE FREEZES THAN FORCE REDUCTIONS, EASTERN REPS WERE AT PAINS TO REVIEW THEIR ENTIRE PROGRAM TO SUPPORT THEIR CLAIM OF WILLINGNESS TO MAKE SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS BEFORE TURNING TO THE EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL. EASTERN REPS ARGUED THE CASE FOR AGREEING ON A FREEZE NOW AS A SEPARATE AGREEMENT IN ADVANCE OF REDUCTIONS, STARTING CONCERN ABOUT ALLEGED INCREASES IN US AND FRG FORCES AS NEW ADDITION JUSTIFICATION. EASTERN REPS ATTACKED COLLECTIVE NATURE OF COMMON CEILING COMMITMENT AS TANT-AMOUNT TO A PROPOSAL TO CONTRACTUALIZE CONTINUED EXISTENCE OF OPPOSING MILITARY BLOCS INSTEAD OF MOVING TOWARDS DISMANTLING THEM. IN THEIR CRITIQUES OF THE OVERALL WESTERN APPROACH TO THE NEGOTIATIONS, ALL THREE EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES ONCE AGAIN STRESSED THE ARGUMENT THAT THE WESTERN EFFORT TO GAIN UNILATERAL MILITARY ADVANTAGE WAS THE MAIN OBSTACLE TO PROGRESS IN THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS. POLISH REP STRULAK AND SOVIET REP SMIRNOVSKY PLACED CONSIDERABLE STRESS ON STATEMENTS THAT IF THE WEST RELINQUISHED ITS EFFORTS TO GAIN UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE, THIS MOVE WOULD OPEN THE WAY FOR GOOD PROGRESS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. THIS DELIBERATELY AMBIGUOUS BUT INTERESTING NEW FORMULATION WILL PROBABLY SEE CONSIDERABLE FUTURE USE.

3. UK REP OPENED PROCEEDINGS BY STATING THAT, THROUGH CHANGES AND MODIFICATIONS OF THEIR ORIGINAL APPROACH, ALLIES HAD NOW PRODUCED WORKABLE ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS OF WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET AND WHAT FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED, OPENING THE WAY FOR PRODUCTIVE NEGOTIATIONS ON SUBSTANTIAL PHASE I REDUCTIONS. HE STRESSED IN PARTICULAR THE IMPORTANCE OF WESTERN PROPOSAL OF NO-INCREASE COMMITMENT ON AIR FORCE MANPOWER, AND USING NAC GUIDANCE, PRESENTED THE NEGATIVE WESTERN RESPONSE TO THE EASTERN PROPOSAL OF AN UNDERTAKING BY EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT NOT TO INCREASE ITS GROUND AND AIR FORCE MANPOWER FOR THE DURATION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

4. GDR REP OESER RESPONDED WITH A REVIEW OF THE WESTERN POSITION IN WHICH HE AGAIN CLAIMED THAT WESTERN EFFORTS TO GAIN UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE FOR THE WEST WERE THE MAIN OBSTACLE TO PROGRESS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. REFER-  
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RING TO INDICATIONS OF WESTERN SKEPTICISM ABOUT EASTERN INTENTIONS IN PUTTING FORWARD EASTERN FIRST STEP AND FREEZE PROPOSALS, GDR REP REVIEWED EASTERN REDUCTIONS PROPOSALS IN THE EFFORT TO DEMONSTRATE EASTERN INTEREST IN SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS. GDR REP SAID EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL WAS NOT A SUBSTITUTE FOR REDUCTIONS, BUT A DESIRABLE PRELUDE. HE CLAIMED THERE HAD BEEN INCREASES IN US AND FRG FORCES AND THAT MORE INCREASES WERE

APPARENTLY PLANNED.

5. POLISH REP STRULAK GAVE CRITICAL REVIEW OF WESTERN PROPOSALS. HE SAID THESE PROPOSALS IN THEIR TOTALITY DID NOT MAKE THE WESTERN APPROACH TO REDUCTIONS, WHICH CONTINUED TO BE AIMED AT UNILATERAL WESTERN ADVANTAGE, ANY MORE ACCEPTABLE TO THE EAST. STRULAK CRITICIZED COLLECTIVE ASPECTS OF WESTERN COMMON CEILING PROPOSAL AS DEFEATING THE PURPOSE OF REDUCTIONS ON GROUNDS THAT IT RELIEVED PARTICIPANTS OF OBLIGATIONS NOT TO INCREASE THEIR FORCES ONCE THEY WERE REDUCED. SOVIET REP SMIRNOVSKY ALSO ATTACKED THIS ASPECT OF WESTERN APPROACH AS CONTRACTUALIZING AND PERPETUATING OPPOSING MILITARY BLOCS AND THUS IN DIRECT CONFLICT WITH THE OBJECTIVES OF EASTERN DETENTE POLICY. HE ARGUED THAT ALLIES HAD GIVEN NO REAL JUSTIFICATION FOR REJECTING EASTERN NO-INCREASE PROPOSAL AND THAT THERE WAS NO VALID REASONS WHY SUCH A COMMITMENT COULD NOT GO INTO EFFECT RIGHT AWAY. NETHERLANDS REP POINTED OUT FREEZE WOULD CONTRACTUALIZE PRESENT UNEQUAL EAST-WEST FORCE RELATIONSHIP.

6. ALLIED REPS POINTED OUT THAT COLLECTIVE ASPECT OF COMMON CEILING WAS LEGALLY FEASIBLE AND CORRESPONDED TO REALITIES OF THE PRESENT SITUATION IN EUROPE. US REP NOTED THAT THERE WERE NO PLANS TO INCREASE US GROUND FORCES AND THAT THE INTRODUCTION OF TWO NEW BRIGADES WAS AN ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE AND DID NOT ENTAIL INCREASE IN US GROUND FORCE LEVELS. HE NOTED THAT, TO JUDGE FROM EASTERN STATEMENTS AND OTHER INDICATIONS, BOTH SIDES WERE ENGAGED IN ORGANIZATIONAL AND QUALITATIVE IMPROVEMENTS.

7. IT WAS AGREED TO HOLD NEXT INFORMAL SESSION ON FEBRUARY 11. END SUMMARY.RESOR

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## Message Attributes

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**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** MEETINGS, MEETING DELEGATIONS, MILITARY POLICIES, FORCE & TROOP LEVELS, NEGOTIATIONS  
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